1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 M529 Yokuts M529
[P. 126 a] Wukchumni

769 ants might appear at any ceremony: Wukchumni,
648 Gawia, Yokod, Yaudanchi, Tachi, Wechihit,
Choinuk, Chunut, Telamni, Wolasi (all Yokuts);
also Waksachi, Patwisha, Entimbich, and Wobo-
nuch, the last two but recently and rarely (all
Western Mono). (It is to be noted that the
[578] hostile Tachi and Nutunutu were omitted from
the list as given by J.P.; the list is corrobo-
rated, of course, by other informants and much
indirect evidence.)

When, in 1819, Estudillo traveled through Yokuts territory, he found members of the following tribes in attendance at a mourning ceremony at Chischa, a group neighboring to or in Wukchumni territory:[275] Choinuk (whose "captain and greater number of inhabitants ... were at Chischa 8 leagues away"), Apalame (in foothills but exact locality uncertain), the Nutunutu, and the Telamni (of whom only 14 old women and 9 old men had remained at home). (The Chunut, however, and some Wowol had gone south to attend a similar ceremony at Buena Vista rancheria in the southern end of the valley.) Undoubtedly representatives of other tribes were there of whom Estudillo naturally remained unaware since this was the first entrada into the Central Foothill area.

769 The organization and administration of the
624 ceremony lay in the hands of one or two of-
571 ficials who functioned only on such occasions,
the yate'',ĕ or "dance managers." Not all in-
formants agree whether this was a regular of-
ficial or not; perhaps only larger tribes had
need of them. They were the "bosses" of the
winatums who, both male and female, were worked
to the utmost in their responsibility of pro-
viding shelter, water, firewood and, above all,
[417] sufficient food for the crowds. Around the
assembly space were erected long shades, with
back screens if needed, under which the visi-
tors camped in tribal clusters. Theoretically
the reciprocants[277] were camped opposite the
hosts, the other visitors at each end; infor-
mants were indefinite as to how far this plan
was followed. In the families of the winatums
all members helped: the older winatums saw
that there was sufficient food and generally
directed activities, while their sons supplied
wood and water and carried messages, and their
wives and daughters prepared and cooked food.
The visiting winatums, particularly those of
the reciprocants, helped also, but the hosts
paid for their services just as they paid their
own winatums. The preparation and organization
● 175 of these affairs for a large tribe like the
769 Wukchumni were no mean task. Estudillo speaks
of this at Chischa.[278]

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[275] Gayton, Estudillo, 73-75.

[277] Ceremonial or "washing" reciprocant tribe, not the financial reciprocants.

[278] Gayton, Estudillo, 74.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 126 b] Wukchumni

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I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the walk I took [around the village], and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces (pasos dobles) which makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while younger ones were grinding seeds on stones as is their custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance.

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Some two hundred more he discovered in hiding, and later over one hundred visitors came from another rancheria.

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The visitors brought with them their own mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling equipment. Games and gambling were frowned upon at the site of the ceremony, but during the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

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Events during the six days of the ceremony followed a definite program. Since the introduction of European culture, and perhaps owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the period has been equated with weekdays so that the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the

[532]

first day or two (Monday and Tuesday)guests began arriving, and the bereaved families spent their time making the effigy dolls; on the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday) the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the burning of effigies; and on the seventh day (Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The native feeling was that the effigy burning and subsequent washing and celebrating all constituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is not illogical as the events continued from Saturday evening until Sunday evening without break for sleep or rest.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.154 a] Dunna

251 Of interest to our current ethnography is
175 Bunnell's estimate of stored foods encountered at or near villages. I believe the quantities he mentions can be taken as typical for the entire east side of the San Joaquin Valley. These were seen in March, 1851.

251 In the Yosemite Valley (Southern Sierra
262 Miwok) the caches in native granaries included
175 principally acorns, also nuts of bay (California laurel), piñon pine, chinquapin, grass seeds, parched wild rye or oats, dried worms, scorched grasshoppers, and dried larvae of insects gathered from the waters of lakes "in and east of the Sierra Nevada." There were indications that dogs were eaten at feasts. "The acorns found were alone estimated at from four hundred to six hundred bushels." This was at one camp; numerous other caches were found. When José Rey's "Chowchilla" village was found on the upper San Joaquin River, nothing of value was left but the stores of acorns near by.

In exploring the region north of the San Joaquin River toward Black Ridge they came upon more stores.

> There were in the country we passed over some beautiful mountain meadows and most luxuriant forests, and some of the sloping tablelands looked like ornamental parks of an extensive domain. These oak-clad tables and ridges were the harvest fields of the San Joaquin Indians, and in their vicinity we found an occasional group of deserted huts. These, with their adjacent supplies of acorns, were at once given to the flames. The acorns found and destroyed by the scouting parties here and on the South Fork were variously estimated at from eight hundred to one thousand bushels; beside the supply of Piñon pine nuts and other supplies hoarded for future use.
>
> From the total amount of acorns estimated to have been destroyed, their supplies were comparatively small, or the number of Indians on the San Joaquin had been, as in other localities, vastly overrated.[31]

701 A few remarks are made on numbers of men.
726 In the first engagement on a high peak up the
175 Fresno River in January, 1851, the tribes represented were "the Chow-chilla, Chook-chan-cie, Noot-chu, Ho-nak-chee, Po-to-en-cie, Po-ho-no-chee, Kaweah and Yosemite." The number of fighting men or warriors was estimated at about five hundred. Later on "a body of Indians, numbering about two hundred" was seen on a distant mountain about to join the previous group.[32]

A participant in the same battle wrote:

> "He [Major Savage] found it was a town of the Kee-chees [the village on Battle Mountain], but that there were about one hundred and fifty

[31] Ibid., 134.

[32] Ibid., 21.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[p. 154 bJ Dunna

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of the Chow-chil-la warriors with them and several of the Chuk-chan-cies...Never did I hear before such an infernal howling, whooping, and yelling, as saluted us then from the throats of about six hundred savages..." This group of Indians included a total of 400 warriors "as near as could be ascertained."[33]

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War behavior and tactics are mentioned. Besides the yelling and howling, which may have been intended to terrify the enemy, the native warriors indulged in derisive shouting, obscene gestures, and eructations, when they sighted their white pursuers.[34] In direct encounter between the Indians and American troops, the natives continued their traditional method of battle, in which a single warrior stood forth to fight another. This resulted disastrously, of course, as the whites neither understood the intention nor would have sent out a man to fight under such circumstances.

"To kill him [Major Savage], many of them sacrificed their own lives. They would come out one at a time and, standing in open ground, send arrows across at him until shot down; one old chief who used to cook for Savage, would ask him after every shot where he had hit him. They would talk to him to try to find out where he was, and as soon as he would answer, the balls and arrows would fly thick around his head."[35]

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At this battle an old squaw who was wounded seized a bow and lodged three arrows in a soldier: normally, women and children were sent to hidden safety.

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Signal fires were used, as well as other signs of communication.

By a peculiar arrangement of these fires during the night, and by smoke from them during the day, they are able to telegraph a system of secret correspondence to those on the lookout. An arrow shot into the body of a tree at a camp ground, or along a trail; or the conspicuous arrangement of a bent bush or twigs, often shows the direction traveled. A bunch of grass tied to a stick and left at the fork of a stream or trail, or at a deserted camp performs the same service Upon the treeless deserts or plains, a mark upon the ground, by camp or trail, gave the required information; thus proving these people possess considerable intelligent forethought. [36]

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[33] Ibid., 31, 32.

[34] Ibid., 14-15, 127, 143. Garcés thought himself acclaimed when, on White River, natives there "gave themselves smart slaps with the palms on the thighs," and shouted "Ba! Ba! Ba! Ba!"; undoubtedly "Va!" (go!) as there was one who spoke Spanish among them(Coues, On the Trail, 287).

[35] Dunnell, 33. See the battle between Lemonda and Tabsa (Pt. I, pp.10-11), and also the running conversation in mythical battles (Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 3, 88, 89).

[36] Dunnell, 125.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
CP. 1559] DUMNA

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have them.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn),
175 and besides this there are plenty of other supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.---There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house
[574] was completed, a "fandango" was given by the chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mːs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.---Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tːl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nːt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanːt not identified].

Implements.---The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

227 For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on
[262] a string for angling [European introduction ?]. Small fish eaten were: polhu´l, (sucker), wesča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pːč (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

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how the Kahwatchwah got fire. He told me lots more things 'bout his people, but I guess I forget 'em. It's too long ago."

During November and December of 1815, Sergeant Jose Dolores Pico made an excursion into the Joaquin after Indians who had run many horses away from Mission San Juan Bautista. In his diary-report covering this expedition, Pico mentioned several Indian names which may be the names of Indian tribes, of villages, or of headmen of villages.

Pico stated that his party traveled easterly from San Luis Gonzaga, which is located definitely enough to be positively identified as present San Luis Gonzaga Rancho Headquarters at the east mouth of Pacheo Pass. Leaving San Luis in the evening and traveling eastwardly, the party arrived about midnight "at the creek called San Jose."

At first thought one might decide that the San Jose Creek mentioned would be the well known Sanjon de San Jose in the vicinity of San Jose School, Kings County. But between evening and midnight they could not possibly have traveled that far, a distance of seventy-five miles, airline, and at least ninety miles by known trails. The nearest point on that channel, now known as Fish Slough, southeast of Mendota, is fifty miles airline from San Luis, and about sixty-five miles by the old trail.

Pico's party certainly did not travel at more than five miles an hour, or at most, twenty-five miles between seven P. M. and midnight. This would have taken them to about the present Santa Rita Rancho, directly east from San Luis. They probably traveled at a rate of about three miles an hour. One can be certain that at midnight they were somewhere between San Luis Camp (seven miles north of present Los Baños) and present Dos Palos.

The Pico force rested from midnight until "time to fall upon the rancherie of the *Che neches.*" The name used could have been that of the local chief, the tribe, or the village. One would suppose it was the name of the tribe, but experience has taught that the name of the tribe was seldom obtained by such parties. Most often they designated villages and even tribes by the name of the local Headman, who was well known to them and who was on their "must" list.

Four leagues away (anywhere from nine to fifteen miles, according to the accuracy with which such expeditions estimated distance) was a "rancherie called *Nopchendies.*" The

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direction is not given. We can only reason that it must have been to the southeast. Nearby was "the rancherie of *Malim*."

From these last places Pico "traveled south of the Tulare about eight leagues and turned eastward to the San Joaquin River." This statement does much to fix Pico's position. So far he had been west of Salt, Santa Rita, and/or Hildreth Sloughs. If he first attacked a village near the present Santa Rita Rancho Headquarters, he would now be in the vicinity of Poso Farm near present Firebaugh. Across the river Pico saw several Indian settlements, which he did not name.

From this last location Pico sent "Corporal Juarez with ten men to reconnoiter around the Rancherie called Aopicha. We then traveled south easterly and came upon eleven horses at the river bend where the San Joaquin and the San Jose meet," recorded Pico. This is definitely the present Mendota Dam site. "They belonged to the Tape Rancherie close by." *Tape* was undoubtedly the Indian name of the later notorious *mestizo* village of Las Juntas.

This same night sixty-five head of horses were stolen back from Pico by surrounding Indians. Sergeants Juarez, Olivera and Arroyo were sent out with ten men "to hunt them up." Juarez recovered thirty-eight horses and reported having seen horse tracks "entering the draw [Big Panoche Pass—?] in the direction of Solidad."

Wrote Pico about Tape, or Te-pe, as it was called by the Indians, "Here we captured three old gentile men and a Santa Cruz christian besides eight old women. Here we found 238 slaughtered horses with immense quantities of boiled jerky, and 16 live horses, some tame and wounded with arrows and in poor flesh. Most of these stock belonged to San Juan mission."

In checking the above Indian names with those furnished by Pahmit, it will be noticed that only one name is similar in both accounts, the Ah-pe'-che of Pahmit, and Pico's Aopicha. We have definite information about the Apaiche who were referred to by Pahmit and who once lived near present Helm. This is undoubtedly the tribe referred to by Pico, or one of their villages.

Having been born on the bank of the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County, I have always been interested in the derivation of that name, but it was not until the summer of 1930 that this information was forth-coming. It was obtained

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101 from Jose Antonio Aguila, a descendant of the Cantua after
103 whom was named the Cantua Creek in western Fresno County.

When the Indians on the Orestimba Creek were first ap-
101 proached by the Spanish and an attempt made to take them to
103 the mission, they showed unmistakable signs of hostility, which
648 decided the small party of Spanish to leave them until the following year. The Priests held a long discussion with the chiefs. They pointed out the many advantages of going to the missions. The Indians refused to go, so the priests and soldiers planned to return the following spring with a stronger force and meet the Indians at the same spot where the conference was then taking place. This was agreed to by the Indians, as they pointed to the ground and said, "*Oh-rays-teem'-bah*," meaning we meet here again. From this I was assured by Mr. Aguila that the present name of *Orestimba* was taken.

127 In going through many records relating to the Indians of the San Joaquin I have found only one reference to the Orestimba. In October of 1810 Father Jose Viader led an expedition westward from Santa Clara Mission to the junction of the Merced and San Joaquin Rivers. His chief account, with a few parenthetical notes by me, follows:

"Diario de una Entrada

175 "Before arriving to the junction of the Merced and San
127 Joaquin [site of the old river village of Hill's Ferry, three miles east of present Newman] we encountered some deep dry creeks on the NW [SW] side of the San Joaquin. In about 2½ leagues we reached the spot where we had the fight with some natives—we saw but one Indian here and that was at a long distance.

"This place has tall pines—[the upper Orestimba Creek has tall pines and evidence of a large Indian village, which is undoubtedly referred to here]—Flood waters do not reach here—but the soil is very poor—has sufficient wood and good pasture—but there is no rock nearer than the mountains three leagues distant to the West—[the father had his eyes open for a Mission site]. From here in the evening following the same distance we reached a place fronting the rancherie of the *Tona-la-mos* Indians — [could this be Pahmit's Honoumne tribe?]—about three leagues—The guide was of their tribe and called by him to come over, they would not come—said they

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were afraid. Before arriving near the *Apelamenes* rancherie, near a dry creek named *Ores timac* there is also tall pine [must mean sycamore] and the soil the same as the spot described where we had the fight. [This is undoubtedly the difficulty referred to by Mr. Aguila.]

"The Indians, fearing our object was to capture them and take them to the mission, so they would not come out—it being late we went back to our old camping place and there spent the night without any water for our stock—This was the dry creek and canyon of Corpus Cristi.

"From this place traveling northeast we arrived at a place called "El Toro"—[probably refers to the present well known "Bull Heads"] there we ate and nooned—In the evening we arrived at a little valley 6 leagues NW from the nooning place [probably upper Crow Creek] where we found several water holes and named the place San Guillermo - - - - .

"From San Guillermo we traveled in the same direction, another 6 leagues and came to the rancherie of the *"Palenos"* where we nooned and in the evening still traveling NW in about 5 leagues we arrived here at Santa Clara hale and hearty 'Thank God'.

Fr. Jose Viader"

According to Dr. A. L. Kroeber, of the University of California, the San Luis Valley and the Pacheco Pass west of the San Luis Ranch were held by the *Lis-nay'-yuk*. Earlier in this account Pahmit referred to this as the name of Pacheco Pass and not as a tribe name.

Such is the meager information concerning the entire West Side which the writer has been able to obtain during many years of inquiry. The extent of the loss of historical data in that area can only be appreciated by one who has studied the Yokuts Indians while they were living in their native land. On Kern, Tule, Kaweah, Kings and San Joaquin Rivers we know that it was almost impossible to move a mile in any direction without encountering a village site or an historic landmark of some sort which bore a name, or about which was told some interesting legend.

THE SOUTHERN YOKUTS

The lower portion of Tule River where it entered Tulare Lake was held by the *Chunut* tribe. These people ranged up

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184 territory in which they lived. On the basis of their differences, they are readily classified into three types of cultures.

101 Probably the most numerous and important of these cul-
619 tures was one which we will call the River Culture. Typical of
184 this culture were the *Nutunutu* of Kings River near Laton, the *Telumne* of Mill Creek where Visalia now stands, the *Kaweah* of the Venice or Kaweah Hills district north of Exeter, and the *Yowlumne* of Kern River. These people were probably more abundantly supplied with fish, game and plant food than were any of the others. They lived among beautiful surroundings and were noted for the beautiful designs and wonderful workmanship of their basketry. These river people were at home beside these broad quiet streams beneath the oak trees which towered often one hundred and fifty feet in the air, and among whose branches the woodpecker, blue jay, wood duck, magpie and dozens of other birds were constantly clamoring. They lived in permanent houses and wandered about but little. During the acorn season a few of them might go to the mountains for several weeks. From time to time they might take part with some of the tribes to the south in surrounding antelope, or driving jack rabbits, but they were not a migratory people. Prob-
[484] ably seventy-five per cent of their number lived to a ripe old age without ever having been as much as fifteen miles from the place where they were born.

101 These river tribes were the most affluent of the three cul-
181 tures. Historical data preserved would indicate that they were
184 probably more intelligent than the other tribes as well as more friendly and dependable. Although practically all of the
619 Yokuts were noted for their friendly, open disposition, the river tribes were probably more playful, jolly, hospitable and happy-
[146] go-lucky than were any of the others. Living in one place among plenty, they were also more likely to become burdened with flesh than were the other tribes.

101 The following extract from the 1845 *Report to Congress* by
● 175 J. C. Frémont is of interest. It describes members of the Nutunutu subtribe of Yokuts on lower Kings River in 1845.
619 They were a typical river people:

"On the opposite side we found forty or fifty Indians, who had come to meet us from the village below. We made them some small presents, and invited them to accompany us to our encampment which, after about three miles through fine oak groves, we made on the river.

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"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade.

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains.

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made."

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity.

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and

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swimming the animals and the little cart across without the slightest accident occurring.

"These poor people accompanied us from creek to creek, assisting us cheerfully at each crossing, and in return for their kindness I gave them a portion of our provisions and some dirty shirts, stockings and worn-out boots, which they prized as articles of exceeding luxury, and accepted them with vast satisfaction."

The people described are the Kaweah, who only a few months before had massacred the Woods party and had nailed a portion of Woods' skin to a tree. The reception given the Derby party is in direct contrast to that given the Woods party and lends support to the contention by pioneers that the Kaweah had been abused by that party.

Another interesting account of a similar occurrence, which took place among the Yokuts more than 70 years before the Woods party came to the San Joaquin Valley, is that made in his diary by Padre Francisco Garces when he visited present White River May 3, 1776:

"Those Indians related to me that in their land had they taken the life of two soldiers (who I persuaded myself were deserters), because they were very wicked with the women; adding that they had cut off the hands, had laid open the breast and all the body, had torn them asunder, and scattered the remains. I told them that also did the Espanoles put to death those who were evil-doers, and that presently would they punish two who had done wrong things with Indian women."

THE LAKE PEOPLE

The second culture is related in many ways to the one just presented, and will be known as the Lake Culture. Except at one or two village sites, which were well elevated above the highest lake level, they probably had no permanent dwellings.

Their houses were of a temporary nature and their entire life resembled that of wandering, migratory peoples. The tule mat was used for almost everything in the way of houses and camp equipment. These mats were made by laying the tules parallel to each other with a series of half hitches, or by perforating them with an awl and threading them on strings. In this way long rolls of thin coverings were made which greatly resembled what is known as grass, or reed matting. Some of these mats were used to sleep on. They were used as covering materials to form a shade upon the sun-drenched shores of

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"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson Akers, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tules around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground.

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them.

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguished them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about."

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing tendencies.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

During the time when salmon were running they undoubtedly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beautiful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the coast. These and indications from horse-bones dragged about by wild animals, wolves or bears, warned us that we were approaching villages of Horse-thief Indians, a party of whom had just returned from a successful raid. 175

"Immediately upon striking their trail I sent forward four of my best men, Dick Owens and Maxwell and two Delawares. I followed after with the rest of the party, but soon the Indians signs became so thick, trail after trail coming into that on which we were traveling, that I saw we were getting into a stronghold of the Horse-thieves, and we rode rapidly forward.

"After a few miles of sharp riding, a small stream running over a salty bed, with clumps of oaks around, tempted me into making an early halt. Good grass was abundant, and this spot not long since had been the camping ground of a village, and was evidently one of their favorite places, as the ground was whitened with the bones of many horses.

"We had barely thrown off our saddles and not yet turned the horses loose, when the intermittent report of rifles, in the way one does not mistake, and the barking of many dogs and sounds of shouting faintly reaching us, made us quickly saddle again and ride to the sounds at speed.

"Four men were left to guard the camp. In a short half mile we found ourselves suddenly in front of a large Indian village not two hundred yards away. More than a hundred Indians were advancing on each side of a small hill, on the top of which were our men where a clump of oaks and rocks amidst bushes made a good defense. 175 609 648

"My men had been discovered by the Indians and suddenly found themselves in the midst of them, but jumped from their horses and took to the rocks, which happened to be a strong place to fight from. The Indians were shouting at them in Spanish, and the women and children at the village howling at their best.

"Our men were only endeavoring to stand them off until we could get up, as they knew we would not be far behind. The Indians had nearly surrounded the knoll and were about getting possession of the horses when we came into view. Our shot as we charged up the hill was answered by the yell of the Delawares as they dashed down the hill to recover their animals and the report of Owen's and Maxwell's rifles.

"Owens had singled out the foremost Indian, who did not go any farther up the hill, and the others drew a little back

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

175 609 648 towards the village. Anxious for the safety of the men left behind, I profited by the surprise to withdraw towards our camp; checking the Indians by an occasional rifle shot, with the range of which they seemed to think they were acquainted.

"They followed us to the camp and scattered around among the rocks and trees, whence they harangued us, bestowing on us liberally all the epithets they could use, telling us what they would do with us.

"Many of them had been Mission Indians and spoke Spanish well. 'Wait,' they said—'*Esperate Carrajos*'—'wait until morning'. There are two big villages up in the mountains close by; we have sent for the Chief; he'll be down before morning with all the people, and you will all die. None of you shall go back; we will have all your horses'.

175 648 "The Horse-thief tribes have been 'Christian Indians' of the Missions, and when these were broken up by Mexico the Indians took to the mountains. Knowing well the coast country, and the exact situation of the Missions where they had lived and the ranchos and the range which their horses were accustomed to, they found it easy to drive off the animals into the [262] mountains, partly to use as saddle-horses, but principally to eat.

"In time they became a scourge to the settlement. The great ranges which belonged with the ranchos not only supported many thousands of cattle, but also many hundreds of horses which were divided into bands, '*Manadas*'. The Indians were the vaqueros or herdsmen who attended to both herding the cattle and breaking in the colts.

"The Californians had great pleasure in their horses. On some ranchos there would be several hundred saddle-horses, in bands of eighty or a hundred of different colors; *Alazan* (sorrel) always the favorite color. Deprived of their regular food, the Indians took to the mountains and began to drive off horses. Cattle would not drive fast enough to avoid the first pursuit. In their early condition they had learned to eat wild horse-meat and liked it. Familiarity with the whites and the success of [181 their predatory excursions made the Horse-thief Indians far 184] more daring and braver than those who remained in fixed villages, whether in the mountains or on the valley streams which carried the name of the different tribes—The *Cosumné*, *Mokelumné*, and *Auxumné* (Merced) Rivers. Probably all the streams if their Indian names could have been known received their names from the small tribes who lived upon them.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"The Indians of this country finding their food where they lived were not nomadic. They were not disposed to range, and seemed unaccustomed to intrude upon the ground which usage probably made the possession of other tribes. [175]

"Their huts were easily built and permanent; the climate was fine, they lived mostly in the open air, and when they died they were not put in the ground but up in the branches of the trees. The climate is such that a dead animal left on the ground simply dries up and only the eye gives knowledge of its presence. [164] [132]

"The springs and streams hereabout were waters of the *Chauchiles* and Mariposas Rivers and the Indians of this village belonged to the Chauchiles tribe.

"On some of the higher ridges were fields of a poppy which, fluttering and tremulous on its long thin stalk, suggest the idea of a butterfly settling on a flower, and gives to this flower its name of *Mariposas*—butterflies—and the flower extends its name to the stream. [137]

"The encounter I had here with the Indians was a premonitory symptom of the contests I afterward had with the State and Federal governments when the place became my property.

"We were only sixteen men. Keeping in the oak belt on the course I was pursuing would bring us farther among these villages, and I would surely have lost the cattle and perhaps some men and horses in attacks from these Indians. In the morning therefore I turned down one of the streams and quickly gained but a little distance on this course when an Indian was discovered riding at speed towards the plain, where the upper San Joaquin reaches the valley.

"Maxwell was ahead and not far from the Indian when he came into sight and knowing at once that his object was to bring Indians from the river to intercept us, rode for him. The Indian was well mounted but Maxwell better. With Godey and two of the Delawares I followed. It was open ground over rolling hills and we were all in sight of each other, but before we could reach them a duel was taking place between Maxwell and the Indian—both on foot, Maxwell with pistols, the Indian with arrows.

"They were only ten or twelve paces apart. I saw the Indian fall as we rode up. I would have taken him prisoner

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

175 and saved his life, but was too late. The Delawares captured his horse.

"Riding along the open ground towards the valley after a mile or two we discovered ten Indians ahead going in the same direction. They saw us as well, but took no notice and did not quicken their gait. When we were about overtaking them they quietly turned into a close thicket which covered about eight acres. We gave the thicket a wide berth; for ten Indians in such a place were more dangerous than so many gray bear."

YOKUTS RELATIVES AND NEIGHBORS

101 131 619 The vast Yokuts group of tribes was closely related to four other large groups which once occupied almost half of what is now the State of California. From the extreme southern tip of Yokuts territory north of old Fort Tejon in the Tehachapi Range of mountains, their combined range extended northward nearly five hundred miles to the northern tip of *Wintun* territory in the drainage basin of Trinity River. From a point near Tomales Bay, north of San Francisco, about to Monterey, the range of this group of five related peoples extended to the Pacific Coast. This great territory comprised almost the entire well-watered, desirable agricultural lands of California and had no equal in western North America.

101 131 To the north and northeast of the Yokuts were the *Miwok* (Me'-walk).. These people occupied the upper Sierra foothills from a point south of Mariposa, north to a point north of the Cosumne River. Mixed with their northern neighbors, they extended westward north of San Francisco Bay to the Pacific Coast. The tribes in and around Yosemite and Hetch-Hetchy valleys were Miwok. Although at first contact their language seems entirely foreign to Yokuts, familiarity shows that such is not the case. In disposition, appearance, lore and camp life [171] they are so similar to the Yokuts as to be easily mistaken for them.

There is reason to believe that the Yokuts once extended westward to the coast south of San Francisco Bay. There is enough evidence pointing in that direction to cause some authorities to so map them. But this area is sometimes described as the northern extreme of *Costanoan* territory. These Costanoeans, another group of Yokuts relatives, extended along the coast about as far south as Monterey.

On the west side of the Sacramento River and extending

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

●175 It was just above this last village that the noted Padre, Francisco Garcés, crossed Kern River. According to the entries in his diary, on May 1, 1776, he came down Cottonwood Creek until he could hear Kern River roaring out of the canyon. The Indians would not allow him to attempt to cross the river at that point. Present day visitors to the site can appreciate the judgment of the Indians in giving Garces such advice. They led him downstream until "in a little while" they passed an [361] Indian village (Wawcoye) and could see another village across the river on the north bank. There the Yowlumne Indians helped Garcés cross the river. The exact point of crossing is undoubtedly about one hundred yards upstream from the county road bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho. The streambed there is almost solid granite and has certainly changed [487] little or none in several centuries. Since the first permanent white settlers came to Kern River that site has been a favorite fording place.

361 Villages down stream from those at the Rio Bravo Rancho
103 were located a short distance above the Discovery Well on the Means Ranch, (NW ¼ of Section 35, T28S, R28E, MDB&M). The village on the south side of the river was near the weir known as *The First Point of Measurement*. About two miles upstream from this point, on the north side of the river, was the village of *Tsinehiu* (Tsin-e-he'-oo).

The next villages of which we have definite knowledge were within the limits of the present City of Bakersfield. According to information obtained from aged Yowlumne Indians, there were two villages where the river ran close to a high knoll. One of these villages, *Woilu*, was on the knoll itself, and the other was across the river to the west.

361 It appears certain that both of these villages were between
172 the present Santa Fe passenger station at Sixteenth and F streets and the Mercy Hospital at Sixteenth and C streets. When the first white settlers arrived where Bakersfield is now, there was a large mound at this location. In later years a man named Reeder built a house on it and the mound became known as Reeder Hill. The mound was almost completely removed when the Santa Fe Railway was constructed through Bakersfield. Trainloads of sandy soil were hauled from the mound to build the railroad grade in both directions from Bakersfield. In this work many hundreds of stone mortars and pestles and Indian skeletons were uncovered.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

501 484 We were almost a day carrying dunnage from Sycamore down to the place where the rafts were built. It could have been ten miles below the rancheria. I do remember that the river was wide there, and that a great quantity of tules grew in a slough leading out from the river. It was in this slough that the raft had been built.

"When we were all aboard, the boats were poled out into the stream and allowed to drift with the current. Three or four of the men stood at the sides of the raft and kept it away from snags and in the main current. In this way we floated along at about two or three miles an hour.

"At night the raft was moored to the bank in a quiet place and we camped on the shore. It was really one of the greatest experiences I have ever had, and certainly the greatest I had while living with the Indians. I believe that they, too, enjoyed these trips more than any of their other experiences. We traveled in style and in comfort. The river was lined with trees and vines and it was one beautiful scene after another.

"In after years I used to cross Kings river many times on the bridge south of Kingsburg and the scene there always reminded me of our trips.

"Of the amount of time used in making the trip to the lake shore I have no accurate recollection. We traveled very slowly and hunted a great deal along the way. Sometimes the hunters did not board the boat at all during the day but met us with game when we had made camp in the evening. I suppose that it must have taken us at least ten days to go from Sycamore creek to Tulare Lake."

SMOKE SIGNALS AND SIGN LANGUAGE

175 202 In the diary kept by J. C. Frémont while he was traveling through the San Joaquin Valley he wrote, under date of April 6, 1844:

"After having traveled 15 miles along the river, we made an early halt, under the shade of sycamore trees. Here we found the San Joaquin coming down from the Sierra with a westerly course, and checking our way, as all its tributaries had previously done.

"We had expected to raft the river; but found a good ford, [136] [probably Gravely Ford, below present Herndon] and encamped on the opposite bank, where droves of wild horses were raising clouds of dust on the prairie.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

raising clouds of dust on the prairie. Columns of smoke were visible in the direction of the Tule Lakes to the Southward—probably kindled in the Tulares by the Indians, as signals that there were strangers in the valley."

This mention by Frémont of an ancient custom of the Yokuts Indians is probably the most significant of any that he made on that trip through the San Joaquin Valley. We know from old Indians and early white travelers and settlers that the Yokuts had for countless years telegraphed to the far ends of the San Joaquin Valley by means of smoke signals, warning that their territory was being entered by a strange, or hostile party.

When a party of Spanish entered the lower end of the valley for the purpose of securing proselytes for the missions, within four hours the tules were afire from the Cosumne River to the south end of Kern Lake, and a message was passing by means of smoke signals along the Sierra and Coast Range foothills from one look-out station to the other.

In this way the size of the party, the kind of people of which it was composed, the direction in which they were traveling and their actions were described to those tribes more than 250 miles away in less time than it could be taken today by means of automobiles.

If this party was reported to be hostile, immediate preparations were made to remove all women and children to hiding places, and to collect and arm all men for resistance.

Concerning the details of sending smoke signals little has been preserved. From *Cham'-sah*, an aged *Koyeti*, I learned that a small fire was used, it being partially smothered by weeds and grass which gave off a dense smoke when burned. Wahumchah states that the Yowlumne obtained asphaltum from the west side and used it for sending smoke signals.

A large cooking basket was placed over the fire to interrupt the smoke and divide it into puffs. A long series of short puffs was the signal of alarm. A long series of widely separated puffs meant that all was clear. Chamsah stated that a small isolated hill southeast of Porterville, known as *Chewil Tinin*, meaning Cottontail's Home, (NW ¼ of Section 6, T22S, R28E, MDB&M) was long used as a Koyeti signal station.

It was due to this close-knit allegiance of the many Yokuts tribes that they were able to resist all invading forces, except the Forty-niners, and to continue as a peaceful people.

12: Cook NS29 Yokuts NS29

101, 162, 174, 175, 648, 797

[Since this entire source is concerned with triabl identifications, population distributions, historical reconstruction, history, the relations of the Indians with the Spaniards and other white settlers, and the effects of missionary activities upon the aboriginal population, see category 116, the entire source, for such information. --Analyst]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 31B]

121 Ecologically the great central valley of California
133 forms a single unit. Nevertheless it is convenient for
131 the purposes of this paper to divide the entire area into two portions, north and south. The vast expanse from Red Bluff to the Tehachapi is too extensive to cover demographically in a single exposition. Moreover, the northern tribes, the Wintun and Maidu, are physiographically clearly segregated from the southern by the northern extension of San Francisco Bay and the delta of the rivers. Hence we shall consider here only those peoples south of the Sacramento and American River watersheds.

The area possesses definite natural limits but its exact boundaries must be to some extent arbitrary. On the north the line has already been indicated: the south bank of the upper Bay and the Sacramento River as far upstream as a point five miles below the city of Sacramento and thence easterly along the El Dorado—Amador County line into the high mountains. This follows Kroeber's tribal boundary between the Maidu and the Sierra Miwok. On the west the line starts northeast of Mt. Diablo and follows the western edge of the San Joaquin Valley to the Tehachapi Mountains. On the east we include the Sierra Nevada as far as was reached by permanent habitation on the west slope. The southern extremity is represented by the crest of the Tehachapi.

133 The region designated embraces the territory of the
[10] Plains and Sierra Miwok, the Yokuts, the Western Mono, the Tubatulabal, and the Kawaiisu. From the standpoint of habitat the area is diversified since it extends from the swampy valley floor through the oak country of the lower foothills into the transition life-zone of the middle altitudes. Perhaps an ecological segregation would be desirable. Such a procedure, however, would cut across tribal boundaries and make an accurate evaluation of population difficult. On the accompanying maps, areas are delineated, and numbered, [128] primarily for convenience of reference. At the same time they conform as closely as is feasible with the natural subdivisions of the territory marked out by river valleys, lakes, plains, and mountains. It should be stressed that they do not necessarily coincide precisely with the areas occupied by specific tribes or groups of tribes.

175 The demography of the central valley is rendered
#161 still more complex by the fact that the contact with the white race took place in a series of steps rather than by a single overwhelming invasion. In central Mexico, or to a somewhat lesser degree in northwestern California, aboriginal life continued relatively untouched until there occurred a rapid and catastrophic occupation of the entire territory. As a result, the population was

[P.31C]

175 affected in a uniform manner throughout and a sufficiently
*161 clear line can be drawn between aboriginal and postcontact conditions. In the central valley the white influence was very gradual, beginning at or near the year 1770 with the entrance of the Spanish missionaries along the coast and the infiltration of a very few foreigners into the valley. The volume of invasion increased slowly over the next three decades, but the effect was intensified by the escape of numerous mission neophytes into the valley. The years after 1800 saw repeated incursions by the coastal whites who overran the floor of the valley from the Sacramento River to Buena Vista Lake. Meanwhile the foothill and mountain tribes were permitted to remain fairly intact. With discovery of gold, however, these groups lost their immunity and were rapidly destroyed. Therefore, even though we oversimplify, we may say that the aboriginal population persisted in the valley proper up to 1770, in the lower foothills up to roughly 1810, and in the higher foothills and more remote canyons of the Sierra Nevada up to 1850.

127 Our sources of information cover only the period
114 during which the demographic status of the natives was undergoing change. No written record exists that describes conditions as they might have been found prior to 1770. The only possible substitute would be an examination of the habitation sites left from prehistoric times, but archaeological research in the area has not yet progressed to the point where an adequate quantitative estimate of population is available. There are three primary bodies of data to which we have access, all falling within the historical period between 1770 and 1850.

The first of these derives from the serious effort on the part of the Americans, who between 1848 and 1852 were entering the region in large numbers, to determine the quantity of natives surviving in the central valley. This task was performed by such men as Sutter, Bidwell, and Savage, together with several Indian commissioners, and army officers sent out by the government. To their reports may be added the statements contained in the local county histories published in the era of 1880 to 1890, as well as in many pioneer reminiscences.

A second major source of information consists of the ethnographic studies made within the past fifty years, among which should be mentioned the works of Kroeber, Merriam, Schenck, Gayton, and Gifford. These investigators depended principally upon informants who were elderly people in the decades from 1900 to 1940. Their memories, together with their recollection of what had been told them by their parents, carry back, on the average, to the period of the American invasion or just before it. Hence their knowledge of truly aboriginal population would be valid for the hill tribes only; yet data

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

pit (*cf.* Kroeber, 1924, pp. 504-506; Gayton, 1948, pp. 122-124).

At the rattlesnake fiesta the various shamans from the different groups had rattlesnakes which they handled and, upon occasion, enraged sufficiently to cause the snakes to strike them. One shaman, José recalled, shook his snake until he was struck on the back of the hand. The doctor just let the snake hang down from his hand by its fangs. The stricken doctor then treated himself by rubbing ashes on his hand and by eating some tobacco. The doctor became ill, but by the following morning he was well again.

In speaking of his grandmother, José told about her contact with the California missions and of the time she spent at one of them. The reason for José's grandmother going to live at one of the missions with her little daughter (José's mother) came about when the Tokya (?) (Chumash) induced various groups of the southern San Joaquin Valley Yokuts to join them for an all-out fight against the Spanish Californians. A priest came, however, and told the people to be peaceful and not to fight, and to do the right thing. He talked them out of the fight and promised them a good life of adequate food and clothing if they would come peacefully to the mission with him. Many of the people, including Jose's grandmother and mother, went to the mission to live. Although the grandmother and her daughter were treated decently, they only remained at the mission a few years. José said that the mother and daughter left because "Indians, not like white people, love their own home country—even if times are tough at home."

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